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ABSTRACT

This publication expresses the major concerns and opinions of legislators and others on the topic of world trade in conventional arms. The Congressional Hearing where these testifiers expressed their opinions was held in 1977, at Des Moines Community College in Ankeny, Iowa. Testimony was given by high school students, university professors, foundation research directors, military personnel, writers, and members of political organizations. Cosponsored by the Iowa Division of the United Nations Association, the American Association of University Women, and the League of Women Voters, the report addresses seven major issues: perspectives of the controversy, employment and economic factors, the moral issue, guns, butter or energy, impact on recipient nations, public debate, and directives and iniatives. Of the 19 U.S. iniatives proposed by the state chairman of the program and policy committee of the United Nations Association of Iowa, 11 called for management and control of arms sales through cooperation of weapons producing and recipient nations. Format of the report includes a summary statement on each topic, which is followed by a series of quotations taken directly from testimony at the hearing and from the responses offered by Congressmen. The document includes a directory of the four Congressmen and 20 testifiers present at the meeting. (DB)

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CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS TRANSFERS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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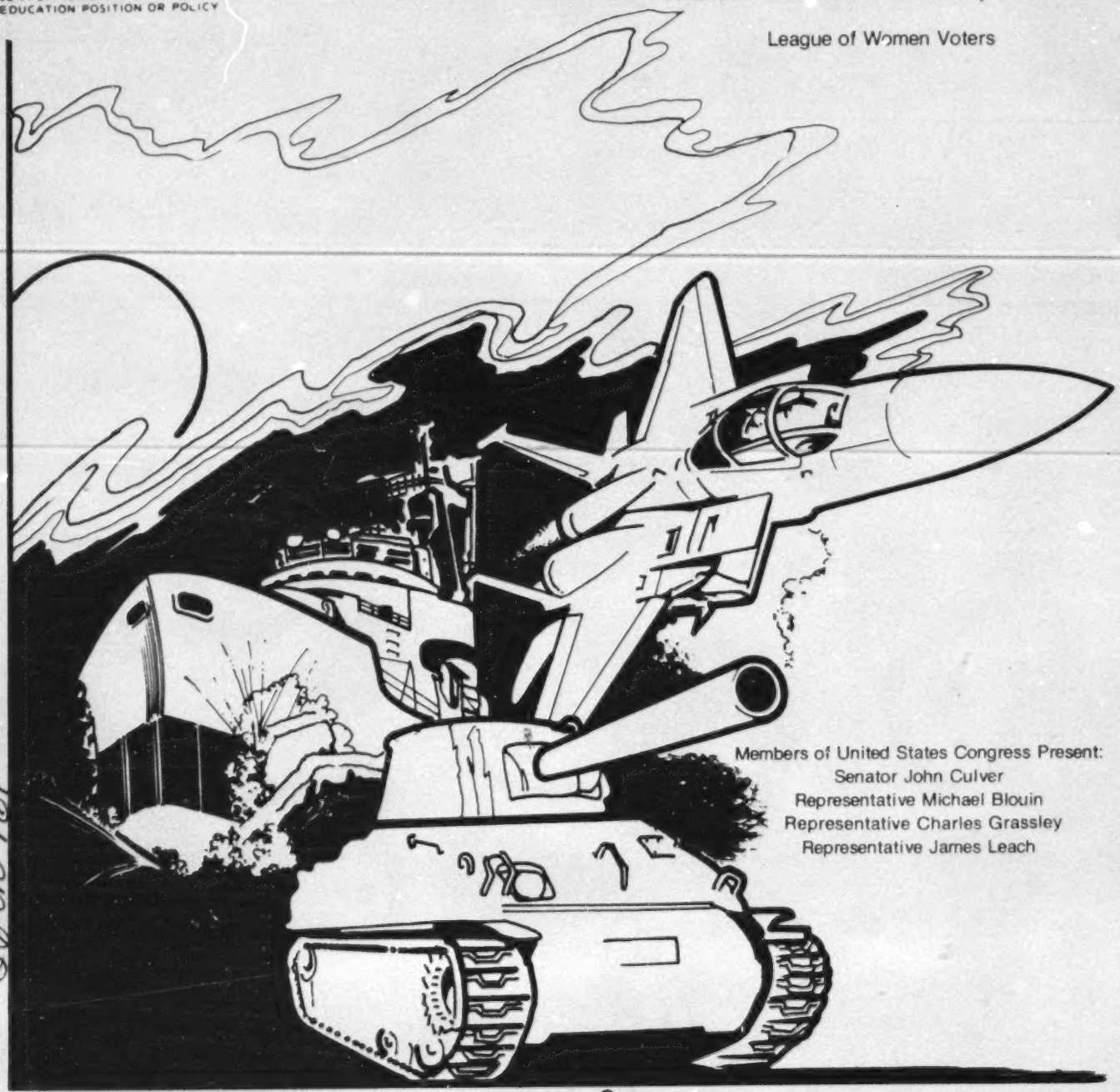

Members of United States Congress Present:
Senator John Culver
Representative Michael Blouin
Representative Charles Grassley
Representative James Leach

SO 010 161

PREFACE

The proliferation of worldwide conventional arms traffic has increasingly become a focus of concern for citizens of Iowa. In the spring of 1975 the Iowa Division of the United Nations Association recognized the conventional arms issue as a potentially destabilizing force within the world and therefore initiated an in-depth study of the subject. Six Iowa UNA Chapters established task forces, each one studying a particular geographic region. These investigations culminated in a report entitled "Big Business: Conventional Weapons," published in late 1976.* The report contains a wealth of detailed technical information and proves that the American citizen can effectively research a complex problem and propose viable alternatives for consideration by the shapers of international policy within Executive and Legislative branches of the federal government.

Following publication of the "Big Business: Conventional Weapons" report, public meetings were held in Cedar Rapids, Dubuque, Burlington, Iowa City, and Oskaloosa to present the results of the study and to sample public opinion on the issue. Other programs are planned in the immediate future in Ames, Muscatine, and Des Moines, Iowa.

The Congressional Hearing report herein is one more step in the process of informing the general public of this issue and giving Iowans the opportunity to speak with their Congressional delegation about the arms transfer question. Congressmen also offer their own valuable insights into current policy initiatives and Senator Culver provides extensive information resulting from his participation on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Many individuals and organizations have taken part in the original study and report preparation, the local public meetings and finally in this Congressional Hearing. These citizens have articulately expressed their concerns. The Iowa Division of the United Nations Association, the American Association of University Women, and the League of Women Voters are encouraged by the public response to this effort and anticipate continuing high level of interest from their members and the general public.

All views expressed in this report are not necessarily those of the co-sponsoring organizations.

*Copies are available for $1 each from, 1800 Briarwood, Muscatine, Iowa 52761.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A., Iowa Division, is to study and promote the fundamental basis of peace with justice and the machinery necessary for its development. The aim of the Association is also to carry on educational and information activities so that the United States may participate to the greatest extent practicable in the United Nations and other official international and regional organizations functioning in various fields of international cooperation.

Should you be interested in a UNA-USA, Iowa Division, membership, you may contact Mr. Cy G. Douglass, Executive Director, 2440 Northview Drive, Marion, Iowa 52302.

OBJECTIVES OF THIS REPORT

This publication is intended to present major concerns expressed relative to the conventional arms transfer issue and to capture the general tenor of opinions voiced by testifiers and Congressmen. Readers who wish to have more specific information on the subject are referred to the aforementioned "Big Business: Conventional Weapons" and to the many sources of information referenced in that document.

This report addresses seven major issues as follows:

Perspectives of the Controversy
Employment and Economic Factors
The Moral Issue
Guns, Butter or Energy
Impact on Recipient Nations
Public Debate
Directives and Initiatives

A brief narrative is presented on each of these topics which will serve to place the issue in context. The summary statement on each topic is followed by a series of quotations taken directly from testimony at the Hearing and from the responses offered by Congressmen.

CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS TRANSFERS HEARING

February 12, 1977
Des Moines Community College
Ankeny, Iowa

Congressmen Present:

Senator JOHN CULVER
Representative MICHAEL BLOUIN
Representative CHARLES GRASSLEY
Representative JAMES LEACH

Moderator DAVID W. BELIN, Attorney, Des Moines

Testifiers (In order of appearance)

*CHARLES RANSOM
Editorial Writer, Des Moines Register and Tribune, Des Moines

*KEVIN DONLY
Student, North High School, Des Moines

*CHESTER GUINN
Pastor, First United Methodist Church, Perry

*COLIN HUDSON
President, Iowa-Illinois Chapter, American Defense Preparedness Association, Moline, Illinois

*DOROTHY SCHRAMM
General Chair, Iowa Division, United Nations Association USA, Burlington

*JOANNE SOPER
Iowa Womens Political Caucus, Sioux City

*JAMES MURRAY
Professor, Political Science, University of Iowa, Iowa City

*WALLACE OGG
Professor, Economics, Iowa State University, Ames

*CINDY MAHONEY
Student, Muscatine High School, Muscatine

*C. FREDERICK KLEIS
Former Commander of Iowa Army Ammunition Plant, Burlington

*JOHN REDICK
Research Director, The Stanley Foundation, Iowa City

KAREN PICKETT
International Relations Chair, League of Women Voters of Iowa, Cedar Rapids

*HORACE AUTENRIETH
Farmer, Paullina

*ROBB KELLEY
Member, United Nations Association, Des Moines

*OWEN NEWLIN
President, Central Division, Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Des Moines

JOHN MC CORMALLY
Editor and Publisher, The Hawkeye, Burlington

*ROY VOELKER
Mahaska County Republican Chair, Oskaloosa

BEVERLY EVERETT
President, Iowa Division, American Association of University Women, New Sharon

*JACK SMITH
State Chair, Program and Policy Committee, UNA of Iowa, Muscatine

WILLIAM SHUTTLEWORTH
Cedar Rapids Chapter, UNA of Iowa, Cedar Rapids

Written Statements By:

*C. MAXWELL STANLEY
President, The Stanley Foundation, Muscatine

*ROBERT EVANSON
Professor of Political Science, Clarke College, Dubuque

*DAVID ROBERTS, SR.
Professor of Political Science, University of Dubuque, Dubuque

Rapporteurs

SUE KOEHRSEN, Muscatine
LARRY KOEHRSEN, Muscatine

* Testified as an individual and not as a representative of any organization.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE CONTROVERSY

Statistics on worldwide conventional weapons transfers are available from a wide variety of sources but specific dollar figures are often subject to frequently divergent interpretation. The magnitude of the current arms traffic is easily identifiable, however, and there can be no misunderstanding that conventional weapons are big business today. Testifiers and Congressmen offer differing perspectives on the issue which tends to reinforce the thesis that this is a complex question which must be recognized as such and dealt with accordingly.

"World wide trade in arms has grown from about $300 million in 1952 to more than $18 billion annually with four nations controlling about 95% of the traffic. The principal arms suppliers are the United States and the Soviet Union, which accounted for 51% and 27% respectively of the total world arms trade from 1964 to 1973."

Big Business: Conventional Weapons

"The U.S. sent large amounts of arms to countries which are enemies or potential enemies of each other: to Israel, Egypt, Jordan — three parties to the Arab-Israeli wars; to Saudi Arabia and Iran, rivals for hegemony in the Persian Gulf and our good friends who jack the price of oil to us; arms also to Greece and Turkey, at odds over Cyprus and over oil in the Aegean Sea."

Charles Ransom

". . . our country's defense posture must remain the best money can buy, and our combat readiness second to none. Anyone who doesn't believe that the best way to insure peace at home is to have a strong and ready military force to act as a deterrent . . . is both naive and a fool."

Frederick Kleis

". . . one of the ironies in arms is that the more powerful the nation-state and the greater the awesome military character it possesses, the more important factors other than capability of military strength are in determining foreign policy influence and power in the world."

John Culver

"An indispensable insurance for our defense in years to come, while we work for universal disarmament on a multilateral basis, is to keep our arms making capability strong just as we should keep an able and strong Army, Navy and Air Force . . . If we cease selling conventional weapons to other countries we will force them to buy from others or to try to manufacture them. If they buy from others, their arms may not be compatible to ours should we be forced to engage in a common defense. And other countries who may become our enemies will build up their manufacturing capabilities, research and development for better weapons than ours. Then too, if other countries depend on our manufacturing capabilities we will be able to exert pressure as a principal supplier and thus have leverage for peace at the proper time."

Robb Kelley

"I find no natural constituency for opposition to arms sales. It presumably doesn't cost the taxpayer, helps offset increased oil prices, and thus benefits our balance of payments, and it's a convenient way of providing business for defense contractors without additional Pentagon spending."

Jack Smith

"Unfortunately neither supplier nor recipient nations have yet demonstrated desire to limit arms transfers. The common contention is that restrictions would handicap achievement of national objectives. Recipients are concerned with security and prestige. Suppliers have a variety of concerns. Militarily they may want to help friends or allies or to balance forces in some volatile area. Economically they want income, improved balance of payments or reduced weapons costs for their own forces through greater production volume."

C. Maxwell Stanley

"The main purpose of controlling conventional arms trade is to prevent wars, or at least to reduce their destructiveness should they occur. Is it possible to accomplish this by changing the types of military goods produced and traded? For example, by producing defensive weapons rather than tanks or other aggressive weapons."

Cindy Mahoney

I would like to concur (with "Big Business: Conventional Weapons") and restate three reasons given against U.S. arms sales:

1) Arms transfers are likely to stimulate arms races and increase the prospects for war.
2) Arms sales are a major diversion of much needed resources on the part of the U.S. and recipient countries, and particularly developing countries.
3) As arms sales increase, the U.S. economy becomes more dependent on weapons production.

Owen J. Newlin

"Advantages of continued flow of material for international security are:

Shared knowledge. (. . . sometimes foreign sources are essential.)

Standardization. (In dimensions, in designs, in tooling, in training, and in maintenance.)

Mutual security. (Shortly before the treaty forming NATO, at least 8 countries came under the Iron Curtain in Europe; but none since NATO.)

More efficient production for U.S. needs. (Economy of scale in production makes feasible the supply for both the U.S. and other country needs in peacetime. . .)"

Colin Hudson

"When we're talking about a budget that makes up 25% of our national budget, even a 1% savings, to a conservative like me, assuming it is a responsible savings, is a lot of money."

Charles Grassley

"If the very existence of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles is the absolute guarantee that we will *not* use them, then is the existence and build-up of conventional weapons in nearly every nation some sort of implied guarantee that they *will* be used? I think that it is."

Beverly Everett

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

A most persistent question arising from discussions relating to curtailment of arms production within the United States relates to the potential reduction in employment which might result. Several diverse opinions were expressed:

". . . experience my newspaper has had with public reaction to our taking positions against the conventional wisdom. For many years, Burlington's largest employer was the Iowa Army Ammunition Plant. At the height of the Vietnam war, the plant employed 8,000 people. It became vital to employment and a significant contributor to retail sales, and thus to my newspaper's advertising. But ever since I've been there, the newspaper has argued that we'd be well rid of the place. This was, of course, not popular . . . . But it didn't ruin us, we weren't boycotted by advertisers, and we didn't have wholesale subscription cancellations. And I believe that's chiefly because, down deep, the people agreed with us that war making is not the noblest of occupations for an Iowa community.

(The plant, incidentally, is now down to 1,800 employees, the price for peace in Vietnam. The atomic weapons section has been moved to Texas. But Burlington survives, even prospers. The Chamber of Commerce has done a good job of attracting new industry; and new retail stores are opening)."

John McCormally

"Dr. John Henderson, professor of economics at Michigan State observes that 'for every dollar spent in that direction (military), there are fewer jobs created than if the money were spent by consumers and the private sector including state and local governments.'

Example: $1 billion spent in civilian sector creates:
65,000 jobs in industry 100,000 jobs in government
$1 billion spent in military sector creates:
55,000 jobs in industry 79,000 jobs in government"

Joanne Soper

"It is unfortunate the extent to which we try to justify any military program on the basis of job creation. It is not

Testifiers Autenrieth, Pickett, Newlin and Kelley

Representative Charles Grassley and Michael Blouin

a governmental welfare program and it seems to me that it should be justified on the merits of whether or not it contributes to a cost effective defense posture for the United States at home and abroad.

. . . if the name of the game is to apply hard earned taxpayer's dollars in the most cost effective way to create jobs for unemployed Americans, probably the last place to go is the defense industry.

. . . Because the defense industry is not a labor intensive industry. If you are going to spend a dollar of federal money to create jobs, you don't do it in the defense industry . . . It doesn't create as many jobs as a federal dollar spent on education, on health, on environment or transportation.

Secondly when you talk about unemployment in America, the real problem is the chronic, hard core unemployed in the ghettos, in Appalachia . . . You don't build a defense plant there and the reason is the defense industry, because of its high sophistication, is dependent on white collar expertise to a disproportionate extent."

John Culver

With the oil embargo, President Nixon set up an interagency committee on December 20, 1973 to spur exports. Sales of arms were specifically included. Arms sales increased from $3.8 billion in 1973 to $9.5 billion in 1975. Sales in 1976 are projected to be $12 billion or about half the value of all United States total farm exports.

I believe that this sharp increase in the sale of armaments was a deliberate policy to provide balance of payments to offset petroleum purchases and to provide increased employment in the arms production industry at a time of high unemployment.

Wallace E. Ogg

"A recent Congressional Budget Office study states that an estimated 350,000 jobs would be lost by 1980 if U.S. arms sales are halted. I question the wisdom of losing those jobs."

Charles Grassley

THE MORAL ISSUE

Current weapon systems embody virtually every technological advance since the invention of the wheel. Today's incredibly sophisticated and complex weapons have been designed for the single purpose of destruction of resources and human beings. The arms traffic is dispersing them around the globe. There was little disagreement among persons who spoke to this issue; all expressed extreme distaste for having the United States acquiring the reputation of "Arms Merchant for the World."

"Peace is not a parochial passion; it is a condition of life coveted by all sane persons. On the basis of our most trustworthy sources we conclude that the present United States policy of selling arms to the nations of the world is counter-productive to the pursuit of peace."

Chester Guinn

"We should have no more satisfaction from living in a society in which payments are received for the sale of weapons than if we lived in a community where the accounts are balanced by the sale of heroin . . . in both cases, there is the language of winning friends, creating dependency, escalating needs, recognition from peers, feelings of security and insecurity, feelings of outrage and abandonment when procurement falls short."

Horace Autenrieth

"There has never been a weapon made in the history of the human race that has not eventually been used on other human beings.

I think the world is really searching for deep, meaningful moral leadership from some government, somewhere."

Michael Blouin

"Another lesson I draw from 30 years of small town newspapering is that people not only have a right to know; they want to know what their government — at any level — is doing in their name, and with their money. And knowing, they can usually be counted on to support the best course . . . it is my experience that if you stake out a moral position, and stick with it, however unpopular it seems at first, you will prevail."

John McCormally

"Economic considerations are not a morally or politically acceptable justification for the sale of armaments and threaten to create a dangerous dependency on war making or war preparedness in the U.S. economy."

Robert Evanson

GUNS, BUTTER OR ENERGY

Food production and energy issues are readily identifiable as two of the major problems in the world today. Arms transfers are inextricably related to both of these topics.

. . . arms sales are a dangerous means to attain economic goals. A possible alternative is an effective national energy conservation policy that would reduce our dependency on imported petroleum. . . . the dependence of the United States and our allies on vulnerable supplies of imported petroleum may be our greatest threat to national security. Our level of use of imported oil has risen from 30 percent to 40 percent and our European allies and Japan vary in the level of their dependence from our 40 percent in the United States to 100 percent in Japan. Reducing our dependence on imported petroleum might well be the most effective thing we could do to increase national security."

Wallace E. Ogg

"It's interesting that there's a limit to our capacity to produce food, but at the moment there seems to be no limit to our capacity to produce armaments.

Food sales are not a function of need, they are a function of the capacity of a country to pay for them. The Middle Eastern countries are the one place in the world which because of the balance of trade, have the capacity to buy food. But they don't need food, because very few people live in countries that produce oil . . ."

James Leach

"The League of Women Voters of Iowa also urges that military aid and supporting assistance be separated from development aid both at the authorization and at the appropriation levels of legislation and administration. We believe that development assistance should prevail over conventional arms sales activity."

Karen Pickett

". . . in July, 1976, I was convinced that the challenge of producing enough food for all people is going to require all of our ingenuity and resources. Weapons manufacturing and sales have many conflicts with our food challenge. We need to rearrange our priorities when $18 billion dollars is spent in worldwide arms trade and less than $1 billion dollars is allocated to The World Food Council for — international efforts to solve the world food problem."

Horace Autenrieth

IMPACT ON RECIPIENT NATIONS

Opinions differ as to whether arms transfers have an overall stabilizing or destabilizing impact upon and among recipient nations. There was, however, no disagreement expressed in that money used for weapons procurement diverts funds from development projects and exerts inflationary pressure on world-wide commodity markets.

. . . the American taxpayer had been underwriting Pentagon arms missions abroad under the guise of military training and assistance centers. The General Accounting Office puts the cost of these missions at $88 million. There is something satanic in this American act of selling military hardware to the governments of people who are gaunt and starving, illiterate and desperate in their struggle for human survival. But these arms sales not only have a deleterious effect on the people and the economies of these countries. They also deter the sales of consumer products made in this country, sales which would benefit both seller and purchaser."

Joanne Soper

"Iran now has so much going, so does Saudi Arabia, that the ships are tied up in the docks and they have to import Filipinos and Koreans to drive the trucks to unload the ships because they don't have sufficient trained people. At the same time they are buying the F14 with the Phoenix missile which is so sophisticated that the U.S. Navy can only keep it operational about 30% of the time."

John Culver

"During my many overseas assignments I witnessed first hand the use of weapons and ammunition developed in this country and shipped as part of a commitment to other nations whether it be for military assistance, balance of payments, or any reason approved by our Congress and President. I found poor use of these items, lack of control by the foreign governments, inadequate maintenance of stocks and supplies, bootlegging, illegal sales by dishonest politicians and military officials."

Frederick Kleis

". . . what is the effect of an increasing disparity between the rich and poor nations of our globe? Many people feel that this will be the critical issue facing our world: the widening gap between developed and developing economies. Many countries desperately need greatly expanded economic development; both for their own security and for ours. And arms expenditures divert badly needed capital and resources from this economic development."

Karen Pickett

"Now we are called upon, through the liberal left organizations, to halt our arms sales. But the point here is missed entirely. We are looked upon as the last bastion of freedom to supply arms to the free countries which have the will to defend themselves. If these countries cannot obtain arms from us, they will be swallowed up in short order and their freedom lost."

Roy E. Voelker

"We need to insure ability of recipient nations to absorb arms without the unhealthy presence of the U.S. We will have 60,000 technicians in Iran by 1980 to keep the weapons going. They could become hostages in event of a regional conflict."

John Culver

"Supplier agreements can have a significant, *if temporary*, effect on a region such as Latin America still largely dependent on foreign sources for advance weapons. But limitation agreements imposed by international suppliers may indeed be counter-productive unless accompanied by more positive policy initiatives as well. If consumer nations perceive that they are being "ganged up on", the result may be simply an acceleration of indigenous regional efforts to produce conventional weapons. . . . the U.S. should make every effort to involve consumer nations, . . . in the search for an international solution to conventional weapons transfers."

John Redick

". . . competing pressures in an underdeveloped country for the allocation of scarce manpower resources. Many of these underdeveloped countries, again the Middle East is a classic example, Saudi Arabia and Iran, have embarked on enormously ambitious development schemes of an economic nature as well as military plans with a very narrow and modest highly skilled manpower base. The military program dissipates people away from economic and social development efforts."

John Culver

PUBLIC DEBATE

Over the past year, hundreds of Iowans have actively studied and debated the issue of conventional arms transfer. Following are some of the results and observations which were reported.

". . . my remarks summarize what might be considered consensus views of a meeting held in Iowa City on January 13, 1977. While a variety of opinions emerged, I think it's fair to say that there was general agreement on three points.

First: That relevant information about arms sales be more widely disseminated among the members of the general public.

Second: To the extent that limitations on arms sales may well cause economic hardship on men and women in arms related industries, there was agreement that plans for peace-time conversion proceed simultaneously.

Third: It was agreed that while conventional and nuclear arms were separable for purposes of some discussions, one could not divorce them completely with regard to arms sales."

James Murray

"For 55 years, AAUW has consistently advocated control and limitations of armaments and strongly backed the 1961 legislation that created and later funded the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. That even in 1973 this agency was expected to be effective with an appropriation of just ten million dollars was proof to us that our government in both its Executive and Legislative branches was not willing to take the world leadership required for effective peace action."

Beverly Everett

Testifiers Schramm, Guinn, Ransom, Soper, Donly and Hudson

Representative James Leach

"I had the privilege of being a delegate at the Governor's Youth Conference on the United Nations, October 21-22, 1976, and was selected to bring to you the ideas and opinions of high school students throughout the state of Iowa.

Our first proposal was to further develop the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, such that the CCD would review the transfer of conventional weapons between any two nations. This review would help the CCD make recommendations on the desirability of the transaction according to the following guidelines. 1) Is the proposed transaction of arms essential to the military and/or political security of the recipient government? 2) Is the recipient government capable of managing its debt obligation for buying the arms? 3) How harmful would the cancellation of the proposed sale be to the exporting nation's economy? 4) Is the transaction of arms between the two countries essential to fulfill previous treaty agreements? 5) Will the distribution of arms jeopardize world peace? 6) Would the expenditures of money by the recipient government be harmful to the welfare of that nation's people?"

Kevin Donly

"We earnestly petition the Iowa U.S. Congressional Delegation to unite in energetically seeking approval from their colleagues in the Senate and House of Representatives for a joint resolution urging that the government of the United States initiate, through the good offices of the United Nations, a worldwide conference on the control/limitation of conventional arms sales/transfers among nations/governments. . ."

Bill Shuttleworth
Resolution, public forum on the sale of conventional weapons,
Cedar Rapids, January 18, 1977

"Well over 90% of seminar participants agreed that:

1. The United States should exert leadership for reduction of international trade in conventional weapons.

2. To this end the U.S. should initiate multi-lateral discussions among supplier and purchaser nations.

3. The United Nations should participate to the extent possible in planning such dialogues and in any resulting agreements.

4. Our government should determine feasibility of converting U.S. weapons-producing facilities to manufacture of non-military goods.

5. U.S. and world priorities for arms control should be sharply upgraded as, for example, increased support for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, including its research and public information programs.

. . . we must admit complete failure to secure spokesmen currently active in the armed services or in defense industry. One seminar chairperson, for example, invited the head of aerospace military studies at the local university, then the former head, then the department head of military science, after that the deputy head of international logistics in a military establishment near by who, in turn, referred her to Washington. I cite this as typical of experience in several communities. . . .

Dorothy Schramm, reporting conclusions from public meetings in five communities

". . . the public turnout and audience response were surprisingly good. The common reaction of audience members . . . was friendly, complimentary and expressive of a surprise and concern about the seriousness of the issue."

Robert Evanson, reporting from the public meeting in Dubuque

". . . the problem is in trying to wake people up to do something concrete about the problem . . . hopefully a few will be stimulated to do a bit of reading and thinking about the subject . . ."

David S. Roberts, Sr., reporting from the public meeting in Dubuque

Senator John Culver and David Belin

DIRECTIONS AND INITIATIVES

"We have all heard the rationale to intensify U.S. arms sales: the program provides jobs, higher volume decreases unit costs, we realize political and economic leverage with some recipient nations, regional military equilibriums are maintained in the world, and a reduction of U.S. sales would surely find other weapons manufacturing nations willing and eager to fill the breach.

Rather than debating these items ad infinitum, I would propose U.S. initiatives designed to manage and control these sales. Is, after all, this country powerless to bring about change to enhance the prospects of international peace and security?

1. The U.S. should more enthusiastically and publicly call for an international conference of weapons manufacturing countries and/or recipient nations.

2. Work toward raising conventional weapons discussions to a higher priority within the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

3. Encourage regional purchasing restraint through the Organization of American States, Organization of African Unity, and other such organizations.

4. Involve the United Nations, including the Security Council and good offices of the Secretary General, in developing more effective dialogues and initiatives for international control measures.

5. Consider preferential trade treatment to nations who resist purchase of weapons. Offer long-term low interest loans to such nations for economic and social development.

6. Use our influence with moderates in the Group of 77 urging them to persuade colleagues that there are more pressing national needs to be satisfied in the developing nations.

7. Accelerate national studies of converting a portion of our economy from a weapon-producing to a service-oriented or consumer product-producing business.

8. Congress failed in its attempt to set an annual ceiling on weapons sales last year. It is still a future possibility.

9. Limit the type and/or sophistication of weapons we sell.

10. Restrict the transferring of dual capable delivery systems.

11. Reevaluate those sales to countries where American security is not directly affected.

12. Reduce the size of sale open to Congressional veto from $25 million as established by the Arms Export Act. Better yet, would be required Congressional approval of all sales, . . .

13. Recast and empower the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to play a more vital role in the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy toward conventional weapons transfers.

14. Create one or more volunteer task forces of American citizens capable of evaluating short and long term implications of such sales, both domestically and internationally.

15. Search for problem solutions and not just an explanation of the problems inherent in change.

16. Provide a more reasoned debate in this country involving the American public on this issue.

17. Discourage the horizontal spread of manufacturing weapons by other nations through more careful study of U.S. exports of technical data and equipment to aid foreign arms production.

18. Consider putting emphasis on the sale of defensive weapons.

19. Study the impact of increasing sales on the capability of U.S. military forces."

Jack Smith